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Status of women. An adequate picture of the status of women in Kaska society must include consideration of several interdependent factors. These include the ideal attitudes of men regarding women, manifest behaviors of men toward women, and women's attitudes and behaviors toward men. 562

Ideally men recognize no intrinsic difference in intelligence between the sexes. On the other hand, by virtue of his activities, a man regards himself as superior to a woman. Because he traps and hunts, and through these activities supports a woman, he is "better" than she is. Old Man, who refused a direct answer to the question of which sex was superior, somewhat obliquely pointed out that a man who has lost his wife can be independent of a woman, making his own snowshoes, moccasins, and so on. Sexual antagonism of men is sometimes betrayed in derogatory remarks about women. Such remarks are: "He's just like woman," or "He's worse than woman." 562 183

Manifestly we find a woman to be economically dependent on a man although not necessarily on her husband. In marriage men perform the principal economic routines, supplying the household with most consumer and capital goods. It is interesting to note, however, that many men are reluctant to hunt or trap for long periods without the company of their wives. Old Man's statement that a widower can get along without a wife is belied by the events in his own life; he became emotionally upset, suicidal, and alcoholic following the death of his second wife and has been married three times. Such observations offer convincing proof of the fact that men are not content to live alone. Rather, a mature man's existence without a wife is sometimes characterized as "being hard time." Women, on the other hand, show a greater readiness to live independently and, as widows, do not show the eagerness to remarry which is revealed by men. A widow, perhaps with the aid of a daughter or sister, often becomes economically self-supporting, hunting moose and trapping as well as tending to female allocated duties. The woman's greater capacity for independence is probably related to the fact that men rarely do women's work, while as children women are in a position to learn many of the duties of the opposite sex and are better prepared to be self-sufficient. Matrilocal residence in marriage also operates to reduce both a woman's emotional and economic dependence on her husband. Finally, the status of women is further benefited by the fact that the society does not restrict a woman's activities by limiting them. Despite the fact that she may have several children, a woman will often move camp several times a year, accompany her husband traveling, and generally show no sign of being tied down or frustrated in a wide range of behavior. This freedom gives her opportunities to gain further knowledge of male allocated techniques and routines which may someday be useful and thereby lowers her degree of dependence. 562 155

We do not, however, find any pronounced reflection of a woman's potential independence and self-sufficiency in her marital relationship. Although in most families a wife is consulted before her husband makes any major decisions, there are few women who display dominant or matriarchal characteristics although sometimes a man's ineffectualness leads his wife to assume a firm command over family matters. Women generally reveal passive and compliant personalities and are willing to follow the lead of their husbands. 562 156

The expression of masculine striving in some girls seems to reflect a discontent with the less prestiged, more unexciting activities of women. Several such expressions were col- 562 157

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157 x 181

ing interpersonal relations which promise to stir up intense emotions or invite excessive effort against which there are no effective safeguards and which tax the resources of the ego.

Two divergent attitudes toward the self, self-reliance and helplessness, complement the double view of the world in Kaska personality. The most acceptable is the notion of self-confidence that seems to say: "I can do this, but I must do it alone." The independence and self-containment involved in this formula partly rest on feelings of being socially detached, lonely, and afraid. To deny these anxious notes, a person must prove his effectiveness lest by failure he admit his need for social support.

Completely inacceptable is the idea of personal helplessness, the doubt that promises failure and which urges the person to relax from striving. In life's critical situations—and these are frequent and inevitable for an uncertain personality—the responsible feelings of the individual, to his great dismay, quickly give ground. There ensues a blind reaching out for all the things that are equivalent to failure—relaxation from striving, affection, and protection. The person is touched with guilt for his helplessness and threatened by anxiety which he dares not release for fear of further imperiling his safety. So long as the Kaska can contain their physical and social environmental participation within narrow limits, they feel resourceful, capable, and safe; trouble is avoided; life is simple, and the individual is supreme. As soon as the protective boundaries are upset, however, there follows a wave of worry and anxiety that signifies the penalty of failure.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ETHOS

Our study of Kaska ethos now concerns itself with the development of the dominant motivations in which this system has its roots. In pursuing this aim we find it more significant to concentrate on how learning takes place than on the cultural content which is transmitted by direct learning, although explicit instruction which reinforces dominant motivations will not be neglected. In the words of Bateson and Mead, our assumption is that, "An individual's character structure, his attitudes toward himself and his interpretation of experience are conditioned not only by what he learns, but also by the method of learning."[28] For this analysis, the most significant aspects of socialization may be grouped under five headings: infant care, emotional rejection, parental attitudes and authority, identifications, and activities of later childhood.

155 x 181 854

Infant care. A newborn infant occupies an extremely favorable position in Kaska society. The baby is carefully kept warm and comfortable and fed whenever it cries. Crying also brings a quick response in the way of other comforts and attention. The early relationship between mother and child is a warm one and during the first two years of life the child is usually in close proximity to its mother, although the manner of blanketing the infant permits little direct contact between the mother's arms and the baby's naked body. Weaning is gradual and tolerant, the satisfactions of suckling being prolonged by continuing to allow nursing from a bottle once weaning is terminated. Punishment is as rare in the baby's life as attention is plentiful.

What are the effects of these patterns of infant care in the personality of the developing

[28] Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character* (1942), 84. Also see above, p. 15.

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child and adult? Good maternal care in infancy, by gratifying the child's craving for physical comfort and alimentary needs, may be considered the initial stimulus for the development of feelings of mastery and control and to instill confidence for later investigating and dealing with the external world. It is therefore the basis for the development of egocentricity and self-sufficiency, the self-assertive motives of Kaska personality, which determine the emotional significance of many adaptive situations. The prompt satisfactions produced by crying also condition the child to expectations of being able to control his environment resourcefully, capably, and empirically. In other words, good care in childhood is a strong stimulus for developing the executive functions of the ego. The cherished position of the Kaska baby is responsible for creating active coping techniques in the personality, which later become expressed in attitudes toward the world and self characterized by self-confidence, independence, and ego strength.

On the other hand, as Kardiner has pointed out, a readiness for passive forms of adaptation and adjustment is one of the "bad effects" of good maternal care.[87] Such passivity results primarily from the infant's unconscious idealization of the mother as a powerful and resourceful figure. The satisfactions of Kaska infancy, kinaesthetic and oral, are well nigh complete and extremely gratifying. Their very fullness sets the stage for an unconscious attraction to this period of easy gratification. In later life passive reactions occur when, under situations of stress and crisis, the person unconsciously attempts to restore the omnipotence which maternal gratification encouraged in the very early years of life. The appearance of passive adaptive and passive receptive techniques, in which the person surrenders active striving, are therefore indices of an unconscious process called regression.

Thus we see that in the state of infancy Kaska society begins to shape both the relatively assertive and the passive coping techniques of the personality. It endows the personality with a capacity for mastery and accomplishment by inducing confidence in the self to command the resources of the environment. On the other hand, indulgent care creates a readiness to relinquish such techniques when, under conditions of stress, the ego no longer feels capable of achieving its goals. At what level of aspiration that stress will induce passivity seems to depend largely upon the development of personality beyond infancy.

Emotional rejection. Although the Kaska child receives a good start in life, this favorable situation is soon interrupted when the emotionally isolating tendencies of early childhood are instituted by the hitherto indulgent mother. At about two or three years of age the child begins to be denied the emotional warmth and generous attention to which he has been accustomed. He still receives sufficient nourishment, so long as good food is available in camp, but affectionally he is rejected; attention is withdrawin, fondling and playing with the child discontinued, the mother withdraws into impersonal aloofness. Following upon the initial period of extreme gratification these new attitudes are exceedingly traumatic for development. The self-confident expectations which the child was encouraged to experience toward the world are suddenly disappointed; his capacities for securing comfort and attention fail. There follow feelings of abandonment, of being reduced to struggling for satisfactions and creating comforts. The consequences of emotional isolation include the blocked

[87] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 345; 347-348.

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155 *181 854 development of active forms of mastery, affect hunger, institution of the first regressive trends, development of emotional aloofness, and the creation of various projective systems organized to deal with the persistent traumatic effects of this situation. We will now discuss these effects in greater detail.

We have emphasized the importance of good infant care in Kaska society for developing security and encouraging capacities for self-assertion and mastery. Such results are not only derived from social responsiveness to the child's bodily needs but are also built up in the process of inducing affection. The combined effect of these gratifications is to stimulate a congenial view of the world and faith in the self. When affectional stimulation is interrupted by the mother's emotional rejection, the development of the self-assertive aims receives a setback. Although the initial impetus to activity permits a conscious compensatory development of ego striving to continue (this will be discussed below), the removal of the heartening stimuli to such growth leaves ego strength in a precarious position, which in later life leads to narrowing the field of effective participation and strong readiness to succumb to crises with passivity and regression.

155 *181 855 Emotional rejection institutes the first regressive trends because it intensifies the memory of infantile omnipotence. The highlighting of a past and more favorable period of adjustment, together with a simultaneous blow to ego development, help institute a chronic dependence that continues to underlie all forms of active mastery. Affect hunger is one feature of this phenomenon. Emotional rejection leaves the Kaska individual unable to form close emotional attachments for two main reasons. In the first place it must be remembered that the expression of love requires inducement; that is, it must be stimulated by the experience of being loved. When such indirect learning is early discontinued, as it is when the three year old is emotionally rejected, the individual is left without sufficient capacity to cathect love objects. He has not been sufficiently prepared for love. Second, emotional responsiveness may be inhibited by serious affectional disappointments encountered in the course of development. The Kaska child meets such disappointment when expected affectional gratification is abruptly withdrawn by the primary source of this reward—the mother. The seriousness of this withdrawal is reflected in the prolonged trauma that characterizes Kaska personality. As a result of that shock, the child becomes afraid ever again to lose his identity in strong love relationships which might once more be destroyed at the individual's expense. Both these factors help to institute emotional aloofness, leading the person to regard with fear all strong love relationships while at the same time he longs for a return to the period when affectional gratification was abundantly available. Realistically, regression is impossible; so the person comes to perceive one avenue of safety in the maintenance of personal inviolability and self-sufficiency. What happens is that emotional rejection secondarily reinforces the earlier patterned egocentric aim of mastery—independence comes to be valued as an active defense. The fact that such an assertive defense system can be patterned testifies to the importance of good infantile care for developing sufficient ego strength to institute such defenses. But emotional rejection also sets the stage for passive receptive techniques, which represent attempted or symbolic regression to the gratifications that were effortlessly available in infancy. Stealing and food leeching in childhood, the earliest ethological expression of this regressive process, originate from the child's awareness that

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his demands will not be adequately fulfilled. Stealing is largely confined to trinkets and food, objects symbolic of love. Food leeching is a means of securing oral indulgence, the mouth having been the organ most intensely associated with infantile gratification and unconsciously remaining a channel for trying to approximate those early rewards. Since children are punished for stealing, the behavior does not often continue into adulthood but its underlying aims continue to operate in the demandingness of the adult and in the high evaluation of generosity. The fact that demandingness is most directly expressed toward the government and whites, suggests that these sources are unconsciously regarded as parental substitutes who have in abundance what the individual needs and so suggest themselves as suitable sources for restoring the balance of frustrated parent-child relations. The statement of Nitla referring to the traders as "Just the same your daddy" is significant in this respect. The conception of authority, or bosses, as sources of protection also equates these concepts with the early parental ideal.

These facts show how closely emotional isolation is related to dependence. In dependence, the search for love is partially affirmed but in emotional aloofness (which, in turn, is related to the motives of egocentricity and utilitarianism) the need for love is denied. "I don't need anybody," the individual seems to say. While intrinsically this is not true, the expression of aloofness is important because of its effects in keeping down passivity and in encouraging the self-assertive motives. The extremes to which emotional aloofness is carried in Kaska society are striking. It leads to the isolation of the individual from all intense social contacts and constantly seeks to guard him against internal and external exciting stimuli which might activate the trauma of emotional rejection. The personality characterized by these trends bears many resemblances to Balinese character structure and certain etiological factors in the two situations are also broadly similar.[88]

The development of a psychoanalytic approach to culture and personality by workers like Roheim, Mead, and Kardiner has stimulated interest in the elucidation of projective systems. Such systems are "the records of traumatic experiences . . . excrescences developed from nuclear traumatic experiences within the growth pattern of the individual."[89] Following such a definition we would expect to find the emotional rejection of the Kaska child reflected in projective systems and this is indeed the case. In order to distinguish between "records of traumatic experiences" and the ethological expressions of all early experiences in the ethos, we are using the term projective systems for the symbolic representation of a patterned traumatic experience (or persons related to such an experience) in the socially patterned behavior and ideas of a society.[90] Such representations may be regarded as the symbolic reenactment of the individual's roles in an early traumatic experience and involves the assumptions that the trauma still persists vividly in the individual's unconscious memory and that he is anxious to assume control over it.[91]

The principal projections of emotional isolation are found in the representations of women in Kaska folktales. We have already alluded to the story, "The Girl Who Turned

[88] See Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character* (1942); Mead, *Researches in Bali* (1939).
[89] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 39.
[90] This definition seems implicit in the work of Mead. See Mead, *Researches in Bali* (1939), 24.
[91] See Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (1945), 210.

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155 Into An Owl," to point out the manner in which this tale served to express Old Man's
X 181 personality conflicts. Now we turn to another function of this tale, seeing it as the projection of emotional rejection and a representation of the mother pictured as a deceiver. The story also indicates a certain equivalence between the husband-wife and parent-child relationships. The girl's mother, taking the wife's place, symbolizes the equivalence of the maternal and wifely roles. Unconsciously, husbands are children fed by their mothers. They are dependent on wives as they were dependent on the maternal care in infancy, but in the tale the mother reveals her deceitfulness and must be punished. Similar unconscious ideas may also be at the root of the aggression which men direct against women during intoxication, and also in the rejection of the breasts as erotic stimuli in sexual situations. A similar story of a deceitful wife is found in "The Blind Old Man," in which the man again kills the mother equivalent. In "A Tribe of Women" we see represented a flight from parents and the discovery of new mothers. When the younger brother allows himself to be killed by these women he gives into a regressive wish to be incorporated by the mother and attains his passive goal by being buried in the women's camp. That men should be indicated in these tales as experiencing somewhat greater frustration from emotional rejection than women can perhaps be partly explained in terms of the girl's greater opportunities to repair the wound of rejection. This will be discussed below in connection with identifications and childhood activities.

155 The grizzly bear fantasy may be regarded as another example of a projective system re-
X 181 peating the child's terror upon encountering emotional rejection. The mother is here repre-
855 sented (familiarly, as far as western clinical practice is concerned) in a large and dangerous animal against which the person feels powerless. It is not coincidental that another function of this fantasy is to express the anxiety which girls feel in the face of sexual situations, whose intensity threatens to break down the emotional isolation adopted as a defense against rejection.

155 *Parental attitudes and authority.* Parental authority plays a relatively slight and non-
X 181 traumatic role in the Kaska child's life. Attitudes toward toilet training are not severe and
861 sphincter regulation is not seriously expected before the child possesses the capacities for voluntary control. Punishment is rare and generally limited to situations of defaulting while overprotection has no end in which to grow. There is an absence of authoritarian supervision such as would emphasize the child's humiliation and complete submission to his parents. Native education is also characterized by this lack of authoritarianism; little effort is made to specifically direct the child's assimilation of cultural routines and in a great deal of learning children are left to work out their own answers to problems. In general, the child grows up easily and independently and with a large amount of freedom from supervision and authority. What are the consequences of these patterns for Kaska personality?

155 In the first place, we note that sphincter training is not severe and therefore is not a
X 181 situation in which parental disciplines can frustrate the child's capacities. Integrated as it is
863 with other parental attitudes, toilet training is conducive to developing a sense of independence and personal responsibility. The absence of severe discipline or authoritarian attitudes therefore leads to the oedipal situation a flavor of permissiveness. The child's individuality is respected and no sense of blind obedience is ever imposed. Among the most

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important results of these patterns are the development of deference, egocentricity, and flexibility.

Deference is directly learned from the injunctions of parents warning children against aggression but is also indirectly assimilated in the absence of a frustrating and authoritarian oedipal situation. Following the child's emotional rejection, no new blocks or frustrations are set in the path of the developing ego, although it cannot be denied that the personality continues to carry the memory of this trauma whose anxieties continue to interfere with the richest development of ego functions. Kaska parents, therefore, do not demand submission and self-abnegation which in an authoritarian climate may undermine self-esteem and engender hostility.[9] In the absence of such instigations to hostility, the positive lessons of parents against aggression can take a firm hold. This learning, it must be pointed out, further takes place in a personality whose emotional expressiveness, because of the emotionally isolating tendencies of the parents, is not being strongly stimulated. Positive injunctions to deference are therefore uncontested by alien forces or labile emotionality. The picture may be characterized as one of introversive isolation, and it is in such a restrictive setting that the tendencies of egocentricity, emotional isolation, and deference become intensified. The nonauthoritarian parents influence the adoption of a religious view lacking a stern, authoritarian, nondeferent deity such as might be traced back to a harsh parental image.

155 181X 865

155 181X 866

The previously achieved degree of ego tonicity is maintained by the fact that shame and ridicule are not used as disciplinary measure. In the absence of a strongly inculcated sense of duty and obedience, the child, to a considerable extent, decides his own course of behavior against the introjected standards of his group. This does not imply failure to teach the child what is expected of him. The emphasis in such teaching, however, is to preserve the child's initiative, an effect that is further aided by the absence of constant adult watchfulness, supervision, or overprotection. The Kaska child finds this freedom to develop responsibility and independence congenial, perceiving the value of these attitudes as defenses against the traumatic effects of emotional rejection and regressive dependence. He gradually drops the overt forms of a compulsive search for love and is better off than he would be in a society that not only patterned a withdrawal of affection but also prevented the development of egocentric attitudes. The expressed fear lest a child be "pleased" too much (that is, lest the child be spoiled) may be understood as a desire to avoid inordinate permissiveness. Apparently it is not rare for permissiveness to be carried to extremes. On the other hand, it must be recognized that some parents exercise closer supervision and stricter discipline than is generally approved of.

155 181X 867

The lack of strong parental direction and the fact that the child is left to learn many cultural routines for himself have consequences not only in further preventing the formation of a strong superego (based on the parental image) but in encouraging resourcefulness and self-sufficiency. They also make any idea of submission distasteful in later life. Such encouragement would be of little avail without the good infantile care which originally prepared the ego to exercise forms of active mastery. Early necessity for resourcefulness, in providing the emotional readiness to invent problem solutions, plays a large role in developing the

[9] See Fromm, *Selfishness and Self-love* (1939), 514; Schilder, *Goals and Desires of Man* (1942), 49-50; Levy, *Hate as a Drama* (1941), 317-318.

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155 practicality of the Kaska adult. From this we also learn more about how the empirical reality
181 system gets its start in childhood. Among the Kaska, empiricism is related to good infant
867 care, an oedipal pattern which stresses independent learning, discouragement from playing with impractical toys, encouragement of independence and self-sufficiency as defenses against emotional isolation, and the impossibility of overtly indulging passive dependent attitudes in parents.

155 The oedipal pattern we have described can certainly not lead to the projection of a
181 strong authoritarian deity, and indeed the Kaska have refurbished the creation myth partially taken over from the Bible. Jesus (or God) is several times puzzled by his problems and
[177] there is no idea of God as omnipotent. The lasting idea of people as fallible and limited in their resources is another effect of the oedipal pattern and goes to reinforce the egocentric dictum: "I must do this by myself."

155 The influences of early parental attitudes, in association with moderate ego tonicity, on
181 other aspects of flexibility are not hard to discern. With few rewards for the fulfillment of
861 obligations, children are not required to learn the meaning of futurity. Compulsive qualities like duty and perfectionism are not demanded of the child nor are they available in his social environment for imitation. Similarly such compulsive ways of behaving are not acquired by the child while undergoing toilet training, where the stress on the child's preparedness and conformity are relatively mild. Few rules or formalized methods of procedure are given the child to follow. He sees no emphasis on planning and his moderate ego strength does not lead him to attempt to develop such notions. As a result, the adult is marked by a flexible approach to life which is largely used for passive purposes, to remove him from critical situations which threaten his ego resources.[9]

155 *Identifications.* Important stimulation is given to the dominant motivations by the
181 identifications which the child creates in the oedipal situation. One expression of the effects of these identifications occurs in the conscious and unconscious attitudes characterizing adult interpersonal relations. There is no doubt that in the very early oedipal situation, before the institution of maternal emotional rejection, the mother is the most important figure in the child's life. Largely this importance is due to the mother's gratificatory role, but it also follows from the fact that the father's economic routines frequently separate him from his family. In later childhood the mother remains a powerful and significant figure but the father now becomes an equally important personage and one who suggests himself as a target for identification by children of both sexes. It must be pointed out, however, that identification with a father, or adequate father substitute, is often difficult when families are broken and children are raised by the mother or a mother surrogate like the mother's sister or the child's grandmother. Such broken families are quite common among the Kaska. The structure of the family too has an important bearing on what identifications can be

[9] Among the South African Lobwedu, the absence of stern parental authority also appears to be correlated with a lack of compulsiveness and tolerance for personal variation. In this society, too, we find that sphincter control is not expected before three years of age. Nevertheless there is evidence that Lobwedu spontaneity is something different from Kaska flexibility, being related to a feeling for moderation and a distaste for striving. Among the Kaska flexibility is essentially a passive reaction from striving. See Krige and Krige, The Realm of a Rain-Queen (1943), 250-252.

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cathected. The Kaska do not pattern the diffusion of parental roles among many parent-155
extensions. The family tends to be centered in its own dwelling and parents, very much/81
as in western society, originate most action to children. Other adults with whom the child comes into contact cannot be regarded as important for early identifications.

Following withdrawal of the mother's affectional stimulation we find in both the boy and girl a tendency to identify with the father. Undoubtedly this is due to the experience of the mother as a frustrating object, whose emotional rejection continues to live in the child's personality. In the boy identification with the father is indulged; in the girl, unless the family lacks an older son, identificatory aims are often difficult to realize. We will discuss the boy's identification first.

Following his emotional rejection, the boy sees the father as generally more assertive than the mother. The father, however, is not a warmly demonstrative person in whom the boy can realize his denied affective needs. A son may, however, associate with his father, offering the latter simple assistance. In so doing he strengthens his own egocentric and utilitarian motives as further defenses against isolation and passive tendencies. Idealization of fathers by sons is also possible because of the latters' socially important role as the chief providers of the family. As a result of the precarious emotional balance of the isolated boy, identification with the father assumes an ingratiatory quality, not because of the male parent's tyrannical family role but because the boy is afraid of losing what remains as a sole, if insufficient, source of gratification. Ingratiation to the father is demonstrated in adult relationships between men, especially between Indians and white men—police, traders, the missionaries—and was also manifested toward the ethnographer. The relationship is, however, a deferent one; the father is rarely authoritarian and his behavior toward the boy expresses respect. These attitudes are also expressed between adult men and are partly responsible for the deferent individualism that is maintained in interpersonal relations. Yet the boy, for all the permissiveness extended to him, is not a tyrant in the family. He cannot deliberately offend or refuse to obey, although he can remain absent from camp for long periods. Tact, therefore, becomes essential in interpersonal relations lest hostility be aroused. This attitude also persists through life in the organization of deference.

Like her brother, the girl cannot successfully identify with the mother who emotionally isolates her. She too forms an early emotional attachment to the father and, particularly in the absence of an older son, often earns considerable satisfaction from this identification, accompanying her father on short hunting and trapping trips and, as she matures, striving to emulate the father's role as a food provider. Fathers may even offer daughters a certain amount of encouragement in this behavior. The girl's identification with the father encourages her ego development by developing the same goals, egocentricity and utilitarianism, which are patterned in the boy. We can now understand the masculine striving of women as a phenomenon partly following from identification with the father and generalization from maternal rejection to the feminine maternal role. Because of her cross-sexed identification, the girl probably becomes better able to manage interracial relations than is the boy. Her warm attitudes toward men and her readiness to offer men emotional comforts are partially derived from this relationship.

One important class of identifications may be briefly stated, that occurring between

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like-sexed siblings. Between brothers this relationship often has an ambivalent quality, the functions of which are not clear, but between sisters the ties are very warm and probably give the girl a greater measure of emotional security than the boy has any opportunity of achieving. Yet sibling relationships are also influenced by the emotional isolation which never permits the child to relax completely affectional detachment.

Childhood activities. From six or seven years of age the Kaska girl is introduced to household duties, often in spite of her reluctance, while the boy's economically productive role does not begin for many more years. From this age, however, both sexes are usually thrown increasingly in the company of like-sexed parents or siblings from whom they begin to perceive the nature of their economic roles. Meanwhile play continues until with adolescence there begins the first stirring of the sexual impulse signalling adulthood.

The early domestic role of the girl has important effects in modifying, to some extent, the egocentric component of her personality and preparing her for the relatively passive female role. She is given an opportunity to develop capacities around the camp and unconsciously utilizes her serving role to remove some of the pain of isolation. The cooperation of the family's female relatives further provides some affectional gratification and is accompanied by a slight diminution of egocentricity. In general, however, the girl executes her role in autonomous terms and with a degree of individual responsibility which prevents any great development of passivity.

Egocentricity is less hindered in the boy. In the absence of early tasks, his career is freer and less subject to control and demands. On the other hand his development is more discontinuous than the girl's for, following childhood's period of freedom, he is confronted with the responsibilities of a man sized role. The situation is one which invites confusion. The fact that the boy is not trained for effective serving is an important factor in this confusion and one which, in a setting of moderate ego tonicity, is responsible for the conflicts over responsibility in the adult male. On the other hand the boy comes to appreciate the values of work and general self-assertion as defenses against emotional isolation,[36] but the fact that with adolescence these gratifications entail more of a sense of duty and become less a matter of choice adds to confusion and increases readiness for dependence.

With puberty the personalities of both sexes are quite fully formed. Two behaviors appear in puberty which, perhaps, have not been clearly accounted for in the earlier development of the personality—homosexuality and promiscuity.

Three factors seem responsible for male homosexuality. The first of these is affectional neglect by the mother. This leads to the second factor, the boy's ambivalence to women, or his greater confidence in relations with youths who respect egocentric demands and do not immediately threaten emotional isolation. In other words, *the passivity of homosexuality* is not as threatening as dependence on women. Ambivalent feelings toward girls are also expressed in childhood, in the boy's teasing of girls, for example, a behavior which culminates in sexual teasing. The third factor in male homosexuality is identification with the father and the consequent development of positive attitudes toward all men; homosexuality, therefore, is unconsciously directed toward securing stronger emotional satisfactions from

[36] See Freeman, *Escape From Freedom* (1941), 30.

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men than could originally be obtained from the father and than dare be sought from women who, unconsciously, are mother equivalents.

The development of homosexuality in girls is not so clear. Important factors seem to include the strong positive ties between sisters, the girl's greater ability, conditioned by early cooperation among female members of the family, and fear of the aggressive components of intersexual sexual interaction. As a result of her egocentricity, the girl is not attracted to being a masochistic sexual object. Among members of her own sex she has greater opportunity to receive affectional gratification without threat to egocentricity.

The developmental significance of promiscuity has already been mentioned as signalling a woman's rebellion against the serving role which was never wholly congenial to her egocentric orientations. In the boy varied sexual intercourse complements his economic self-assertive roles and is also a means of overcoming the potency anxieties which appear with his awakening genitality.[8]

Conclusion. Our survey of the development of Kaska ethos in childhood has stressed the patterning of the dominant motivations, to a lesser extent illustrating their early expression. We have remained conscious of the need to avoid such simplification as would lead to correlating a dominant motive with any one specific childhood pattern. The situation is far more complex. At each moment in development, impacts on the child operate on what is already present and this cumulative process continues throughout childhood.

With this picture of the development of the ethos we have also finished the description of Kaska ethos. From a sample of the society's population we have sought to relate personality and culture to meet the definition of ethos. The result of this attempt is a theory subject to all the logical and empirical tests of coherency, reliability, and validity demanded of any scientific statement. How well the theory will sustain these tests remains to be determined.

[8] Freeman, *Sex and Character* (1943).

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Without attempting to formulate a complete theory of witchcraft, it may be pointed out that a belief in the potential malevolence of other people, while not always socially disintegrating, always suggests a sense of insecurity governing interpersonal relations. Such a theory is primarily deductive and is derived from previous anthropological investigations of witchcraft, clinical psychology, and psychoanalysis.[88] Its validity for the present problem will depend entirely on its ability to explain the facts of Kaska witch-fear. The components of psychological insecurity derive from states of anxiety which can be divided into two types, first, primary anxiety that is a product of some early traumatic situations of childhood and is retained throughout life and, second, situational anxiety which is derived from contemporary situations that frustrate the individual's feeling of safety in his environment. The two types of anxiety are closely related and it seems likely that any considerable degree of primary anxiety will create a low threshold for situational anxiety. The accumulated total insecurity will in turn seek release through impulses of aggression or hostility of which witch-fear is a projection.[89]

In order to ascertain the nature of the anxieties likely to occur in Kaska individuals, reference must be made to Kaska personality as it was studied during the period of field work, 1944–45. The validity of this method may be briefly demonstrated. The basic outlines of personality, it is now generally agreed, are established in childhood, specifically in those social situations in which the child derives characteristic attitudes toward the world and himself from his relationship with adult members of the family and other members of his society. Since the patterns governing these primary situations change slowly (no evidence could be obtained of any major change in socialization patterns in the past few decades), it seems safe to assume that basically Kaska personality was not radically different twenty-five or even fifty years ago from what it is today.

From an analysis of Kaska culture it is possible to prove, first, the existence of personality factors which provide a considerable degree of readiness to react with situational anxiety and, second, to isolate certain historical conditions which, by arousing strong situational anxiety, were predisposing to the acceptance of witchcraft beliefs as defined above. To phrase the second point somewhat differently, observations of Kaska behavior enable the prediction that certain specific circumstances will almost certainly arouse anxiety in the Kaska Indian. Such circumstances include any situation requiring an assertive

[88] Although among the Navaho Kluckhohn believes the euphoric effects of witchcraft to outweigh the dysphoric, he sees a function of witchcraft to be "the objectification and alleviation of displaced anxieties arising from the general situation of the Navaho or from the special situation of a particular Navaho at a particular time." (Kluckhohn, 1944, pp. 40, 58.)

[89] It is impossible to document the sources for this theory which borrows freely from many writers. The interested reader will quickly recognize the influence of Horney, Levy, Dollard, Kardiner, Maslow, and others.

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155 approach to problems of adaptation to which traditional solutions cannot be readily applied.

155 A basic anxiety conditioning relatively low resistance to traumatic situa-
851 tions develops primarily from the relationship of the Kaska mother to her
855 child. In the first two years of life the infant receives extremely favorable treatment. The mother responds readily to the baby's discomforts; crying is quickly rewarded, while affection and attention are consistently displayed. Between two and three years of age the mother's behavior undergoes a change. Whether or not another baby is born, the mother becomes emotionally more remote and self-occupied and her relationship to the child becomes one that is best described as emotional rejection. Crying is scolded, and demands for affection to which the child has become accustomed are ignored. It is not unusual to see four- and five-year-old children who have been hurt crying by themselves rather than seeking emotional comfort from a parent or other adult. Thus from a period of affectional demonstrativeness the Kaska mother returns to the pattern of emotional aloofness that is characteristic of most interpersonal relationships within the society. This hiatus in development sets up a number of dynamics in the child's personality but the only one with which we are concerned is a deep-seated anxiety and feeling of insecurity toward the world, leading to an ambivalent attitude toward all intense emotional relationships.[*] This basic anxiety remains with the individual throughout life and is responsible for the inadequate strength of the Kaska ego when confronted by crises.

754 At the time of the witch-fear outbreaks the Kaska found their survival
182 imperiled. This threat came from several sources which have already been
154 mentioned; the influx of strangers had upset the balance of game, new ill-
178 nesses were introduced, and an adequate standard of living was coming to depend heavily upon the intensive trapping of skins to exchange for the white man's foodstuffs. All of these changes presented problems of existence for which traditional solutions were inadequate. Hunting required additional effort and was accompanied by more uncertainty than ever before while the belief in the efficacy of charms, songs for luck, and other hunting ceremonials had disappeared; illness, for which the Kaska were never well equipped, was increasing while native therapeutics, notably the belief in shamanism, had already broken down. Trapping required degrees of foresight, initiative, effort, and long-range planning for which the Indians were (and still are) psychologically unprepared. On the other hand, the rewards of trapping, the most important of which was an adequate supply of food that would reduce the necessity of hunting, were unattainable so long as this ability was not efficiently

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[*] These conclusions are well demonstrated in the Rorschach situation in which the Kaska subject displays an intense fear of the close interpersonal relationship that administration of the test presents to him, a pronounced reluctance to respond to internal and external emotional stimuli (color shock), few movement responses, and deep-seated primary anxiety (shading shock).